

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO

AMCONSUL MUNICH

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

US DEL MBFR VIENNA 708

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 11115

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, US, BU, PL, XG, RO, YO, CSCE

SUBJECT: THE SOVIETS AND PEACEFUL CHANGE IN EUROPE

REF: MOSCOW 4564

1. SUMMARY. WRITING ON FRONTIER INVIOABILITY IN PRAVDA

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JULY 13, S. DMITRIYEV WRITES AT EXTRAORDINARY LENGTH AND WITH

GREAT CARE ON PEACEFUL CHANGE OF FRONTIERS IN EUROPE. REPROVING MENTION OF INTRA-AFRICAN TERRITORIAL DISPUTES, IN CONTEXT OF ETHIOPIAN VISIT, SEEMS TO SIGNAL SOVIET SUPPORT OF CALM IN HORN, BUT MOTIVES FOR DISCOURSE ON EUROPEAN PEACEFUL CHANGE ARE PERPLEXING. DEFINITION OF PRESUMABLY ACCEPTABLE KINDS APPEARS TO EXCLUDE GDR AND POLISH WESTERN BORDERS, BUT SINCE SOVIET TRACK RECORD AND INTERESTS MAKE IT MOST UNLIKELY THEY WOULD SEE ADVANTAGE IN ANY REVIVIFICATION OF TERRITORIAL ISSUES TO THEIR WEST, IT IS HARD TO SEE WHY DMITRIYEV IS WRITING AT ALL. ONLY TWO RECENT EVENTS--CEAUSESCU JUNE 2 DISCLAIMER OF TERRITORIAL ISSUES WITH "SOCIALIST" NEIGHBORS AND MARCH RUMOR ON POLISH-SOVIET TERRITORIAL TRADE--RING ANY KIND OF BELL, AND IT IS VERY DISTANT, PARTICULARLY IN LATTER CASE. WE WILL BE TRYING TO DEVELOP LEADS HERE, AND WOULD APPRECIATE ADDRESSEE COMMENTS. END SUMMARY.

2. WRITING ON FRONTIER INVIOABILITY IN PRAVDA'S STAPLE "EUROPE AFTER HELSINKI" SERIES JULY 13, COMMENTATOR S. DMITRIYEV GIVES EXTREMELY UNUSUAL ATTENTION, FOR A SOVIET, TO THE PEACEFUL CHANGE PROVISIONS OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT.

3. TEXT OF PASSAGE IS AS FOLLOWS: "HAVING ADOPTED A CLEAR AND FULL FORMULATION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF FRONTIER INVIOABILITY, THE ALL-EUROPEAN CONFERENCE ALSO CONSIDERED THE QUESTION OF WHETHER THERE COULD BE CHANGES OF ANY KIND IN THE FRONTIERS BETWEEN STATES. IT IS WELL KNOWN THAT IN CERTAIN CASES THE NECESSITY ARISES OF MAKING THE LINE OF A FRONTIER BETWEEN STATES MORE PRECISE. FROM TIME TO TIME FRONTIERS ARE DEMARCATED AND RE-DEMARCATED. THERE ARE ALSO CASES OF EXCHANGE OF PIECES OF TERRITORY AND EVEN OF TRANSFER FROM ONE STATE TO ANOTHER OF ONE OR ANOTHER PEICE OF TERRITORY. WHEN DECISIONS IN ALL SUCH CASES AS TAKEN BY THE DIRECTLY INTERESTED STATES WITH STRICT OBSERVANCE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, WHEN SUCH CHANGES OF FRONTIERS TAKE PLACE BY PEACEFUL MEANS AND BY AGREEMENT OF THESE STATES WITH EACH OTHER, WHO CAN TAKE EXCEPTION TO THEM? AS IT WAS WRITTEN IN THE FINAL ACT, PARTICIPATING STATES 'CONSIDER THAT THEIR FRONTIERS CAN CHANGE, IN ACCORDANCE WITH INTERNATIONAL LAW AND BY AGREEMENT. THIS IS A CLEAR FORMULATION, EXPRESSING ONE ASPECT OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY. AND IT WAS INCLUDED IN THE PRINCIPLE OF SOVEREIGN EQUALITY, OF RESPECT FOR RIGHTS (AND) EXISTING SOVEREIGNTIES, CONFIDENTIAL

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CONTAINED IN THE FINAL ACT, AND IS IN NO WAY LINKED TO THE PROBLEM AND PRINCIPLE OF FRONTIER INVIOABILITY."

4. LOOKING BEYOND EUROPE, DMITRIYEV ALSO WRITES THAT "THE CLAIMS OF CERTAIN OTHER ASIAN AND AFRICAN COUNTRIES (BESIDES CHINA) ON FOREIGN TERRITORY SERVES AS A SOURCE OF TENSION AND MILITARY CONFLICT, COMPLICATES THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AS A WHOLE." ETHIOPIAN LEADER MOGES LEFT MOSCOW THE SAME DAY, AND

THIS PASSAGE, TAKEN IN CONJUNCTION WITH OTHER SOVIET MEDIA MATERIAL ON THE MOGES VISIT AND THE HORN OF AFRICA, MIGHT CONCEIVABLY BE PART OF A SIGNAL THAT THE SOVIETS WANT QUIET IN THE HORN, AT LEAST FOR THE TIME BEING, IN THE IMMEDIATE AFTERMATH OF ANGOLA.

5. WITH REGARD TO EUROPE, HOWEVER, DMITRIYEV'S REASONS FOR DISCOURSING ABOUT PEACEFUL CHANGE AT SUCH LENGTH, AND SO CAREFULLY, ARE SOMEWHAT PERPLEXING. THE NAME DMITRIYEV MAY BE A PSEUDONYM, DENOTING A CERTAIN AUTHORITATIVE QUALITY, AND HE WRITES WITH SOME CARE FOR LEGAL NICETIES. ALTHOUGH THE FRG HAS BEEN GETTING A RELATIVELY GOOD SOVIET PRESS THIS SUMMER, IT IS EXTREMELY UNLIKELY THAT LENGTHY PUBLIC TREATMENT OF PEACEFUL CHANGE IS DESIGNED AS A FREE BOUQUET FOR THE WEST GERMANS, SINCE THE COST OF A GRATUITOUS GESTURE ON AN ISSUE SO SENSITIVE TO THE GDR (AND POLAND) WOULD BE TOO HIGH. INDEED, THE CLEAR LINKAGE WITH SOVEREIGN EQUALITY AND EXISTING SOVEREIGNTIES, AND THE CLEAR DELINKAGE FROM FRONTIER INVIOABILITY, APPEAR SPECIFICALLY DESIGNED TO REASSURE THE USSR'S NORTH EUROPEAN ALLIES THAT THEIR FRONTIERS WITH THE FRG ARE NOT AT ISSUE.

6. IT IS HARD TO IMAGINE WHAT OTHER EUROPEAN FRONTIERS MIGHT BE SUBJECT TO THE KINDS OF PEACEFUL CHANGE DMITRIYEV DEFINES. BY OUR READING, THE SOVIETS ARE MOST UNLIKELY TO SEE ADVANTAGE TO THEMSELVES IN ANY REVIVIFICATION OF TERRITORIAL ISSUES ANYWHERE IN EUROPE. (DMITRIYEV SPECIFICALLY APPLAUDS THE FINAL TRIESTE SETTLEMENT BETWEEN YUGOSLAVIA AND ITALY AS AN EXAMPLE OF THE BENEFICIAL EFFECTS OF HELSINKI.) THEY HAVE WORKED LONG AND HARD FOR MANY YEARS TO ACHIEVE GENERAL RECOGNITION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF FRONTIER INVIOABILITY ON THE CONTINENT; THEY CONSIDER THE EXTENT OF RECOGNITION ACHIEVED AT HELSINKI AND IN BILATERAL AGREEMENTS A TRIUMPH FOR THEIR FOREIGN POLICY; THEY ARE PRUDENT IN THE EXTREME, AND WANT EUROPEAN STABILITY, AS THEY DEFINE IT, CONFIDENTIAL

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INCLUDING FRONTIER INVIOABILITY; AND THEY ARE CONSTANTLY LOOKING OVER THEIR SHOULDERS AT ASIA, WHERE OTHERS ARE DEMANDEURS.

7. ONLY TWO RECENT "EVENTS" RING ANY KIND OF RELEVANT BELL, AND THAT IS DISTANT. FIRST, DMITRIYEV'S PIECE FOLLOWS CEAUSESCU'S DISCLAIMER OF TERRITORIAL ISSUES BETWEEN ROMANIA AND ITS SOCIALIST NEIGHBORS BY SOME SIX WEEKS. SECOND, IT RECALLS THE RUMOR BRUITED BY LA TIMES CORRESPONDENT BOB TOTH'S SOVIET CONTACT (MOSCOW 4564) OF A SOVIET-POLISH TERRITORIAL TRADE INVOLVING KALININGRAD OBLAST AND OIL-BEARING LANDS IN EASTERN POLAND. BY DEFINING "PROPER" PEACEFUL CHANGE IN TERMS OF "EXCHANGE OF PIECES OF TERRITORY AND EVEN OF TRANSFER FROM ONE STATE TO ANOTHER OF ONE OR ANOTHER PIECE OF TERRITORY...TAKEN BY THE DIRECTED INTERESTED STATES WITH STRICT OBSERVANCE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW...BY PEACEFUL MEANS AND BY AGREEMENT OF THESE STATES WITH EACH OTHER,"

DMITRIYEV HAS IN ANY CASE ALMOST RESTRICTED POSSIBILITIES TO INTRA-COMMUNIST ADJUSTMENTS WITHIN EASTERN EUROPE, SINCE NO OTHER KINDS ARE IN THE POLITICAL CARDS EVEN IN EXTREMIS. IT MAY ALSO BE WORTH NOTING THAT, IF DMITRIYEV IS TO BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY AND RELATED TO CEASESCU, HE DOES NOT GO NEARLY SO FAR AS THE ROMANIAN CHIEF OF STATE IN DISAVOWING EXISTENCE OF TERRITORIAL ISSUES.

8. WE WILL BE FOLLOWING UP WITH LOCAL SOVIET AND DIPLOMATIC CONTACTS FOR LEADS IN ASSESSING THE SIGNIFICANCE, IF ANY, OF DMITRIYEV'S REMARKS, AND WOULD APPRECIATE ANY COMMENTS OR SUGGESTIONS FROM THE DEPARTMENT AND OTHER ADDRESSEES.
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